EXCLUSIVE: INSIDE THE MONTGOMERY STORY — A NEW SERIES SEE P. 3

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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WAR & PEACE

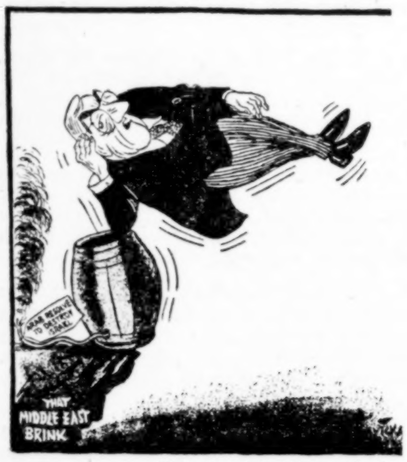
Middle East peace still unsure despite cease-fire accord

By Kumar Goshal

ON APRIL 19, three days after the Israelis celebrated their eighth anniversary as a state, UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold announced from Jerusalem an unconditional Israel-Egypt cease-fire agreement along the armistice demarcation line.

Both Israel and Egypt told Hammarskjold: "No military or paramilitary forces, including non-regular forces, may shoot across the demarcation line or pass over that line for any purpose whatsoever." Hammarskjold announced at the same time that Israeli Premier Ben-Gurion had finally agreed to allow UN truce supervisers more freedom of movement in the Israeli sector; Egypt had agreed to this earlier.

Hammarskjold had previously obtained a Lebanese pledge "to accept all proposals to reduce tension in the Middle East," provided that such proposals did not "prejudice a final just settlement of the Palestine question [or] violate the sovereignty of any Arab state." The UN also planned to approach Jordan and Syria for a similar cease-fire agreement.


ARAB RESOLVE TO DESTROY ISRAEL
THAT MIDDLE EAST BRINK

—Vicky in Daily Mirror, London

"Well, I can't see an immediate emergency . . . "

THE SUEZ ISSUE: Ben-Gurion was reported still pressing Hammarskjold for a lifting of Egyptian restrictions on the passage of Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal. Although Egypt has been allowing non-Israeli ships carrying cargoes to Israel to pass through the canal, it has ignored the 1951 UN Security Council resolution calling for a lifting of restrictions on Israeli ships.

Hammarskjold said he felt that the Suez Canal issue was outside the scope of his UN mandate. He agreed, however, that whether it was appropriate for him to discuss any question outside his formal mandate "will be determined by the willingness of the Governments concerned to consider it with me in my capacity as Secretary General."

SOVIET POSITION: The cease-fire announcement came two days after a Soviet statement on the Middle East tension and three days after Foreign Minister Molotov and First Deputy Premier Mikoyan had attended the Independence Day celebration at the Israeli Embassy in Moscow.

Moscow pledged "support to the UN measures" and Security Council decisions for "strengthening peace in the area of Palestine," and called upon Israel and the Arab countries to refrain from action aggravating the situation on the armistice line. Calling for measures to lessen tension in the Middle East, "without external intervention," the Soviet statement described the Western-sponsored military alliances as serving "the

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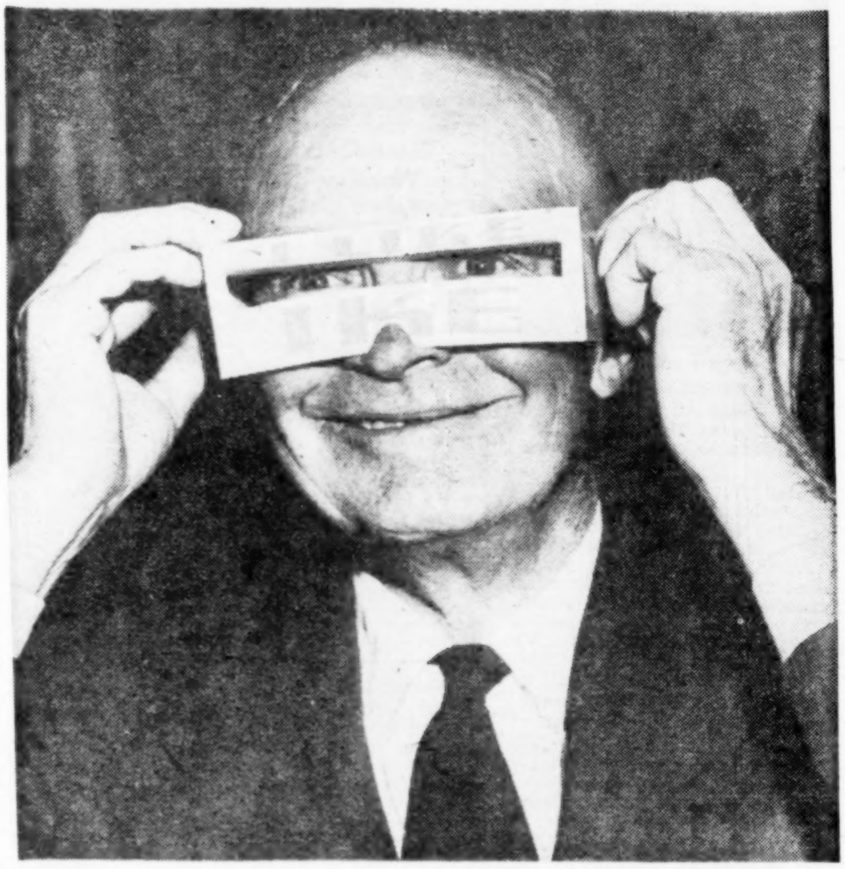

. . . and no cliches barred

The campaign for the Presidency is on—and the button, flag and rose-colored glass (demonstrated by the President above) are once more coming into their own. Even revolution is back into style; the President, to counter the new Bolshevik look in Moscow, asked for a return to the spirit of 1776 in a speech before the American Newspaper Publishers Assn. Great idea, Mr. President. But, in the spirit of our State Dept., we'd like to see a few deeds, not words, on our part too.

BRITAIN, FRANCE, ITALY, YUGOSLAVIA

How Europe's Socialists see the job

By Elmer Bendiner

IN THE THAW following the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP there has been a concerted effort to find points of contact along the many roads which are said to lead to socialism. Some roads are plainly being labeled "under repair". Here and there people are saying some new trails might be blazed. But all over the world millions are talking about the socialist destination: Buddhists in Burma, earls in England, syndicalists in Bolivia, Trotskyites, Fabians, Communists, insurrectionists, passive resistance advocates, guerrillas and parliamentarians. One thing was plain: what happened in Moscow was no internal affair of the Communists.

Gilles Martinet, in the Paris l'**Observateur** (3/29), a left-wing weekly which has frequently taken pot-shots at the French CP, wrote:

"'Why,' ask certain Communists, 'why this constant solicitude for the fate of our party?' Most people on the left answer: 'Because that party has the confidence of millions of workers and no progressive policy can be formulated without it.' A certain number add: '. . . and because, sooner or later, we will all find ourselves in the same party'."

THE BIGGEST JOB: Martinet said that the 20th Congress posed more questions than it answered. His main concern, though, was with France, whose CP he criticized in harsh terms, but similar to those the Soviet CP leveled at the Stalin regime:

"What in any case must be combatted, pursued, hunted out and destroyed in 'our' French Stalinism is the police spirit, the counterfeiting of history of the workers' movement, the refusal of genuine discussion, the gross dogmatism, the ridiculous cult of the leader. Also the camouflage behind a revolutionary phrase of an opportunist policy (there is, in Maurice Thorez' most recent article, an astonishing contrast between an excellent analysis of the 'parliamentary way' for tomorrow and a much more debatable passage on Algeria, today's problem.)

"But nothing of all this can be done until the Communists are persuaded that every step forward in 'destalinization' is also a step toward unity. And, from that point of view, the partisans of the Popular Front who find themselves outside the CP have an essential task to fulfill. They must in no case, content themselves with the role of 'advisers.' Every criticism must be accompanied by positive practical action, tightening the bonds among the various workers' and democratic currents . . .

"With the 20th Congress a new fact has emerged. The perspective of organic unity . . . is no longer a distant and somewhat utopian perspective. It has already given

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FARM

What the veto means for the 1956 campaign

By Lawrence Emery

THE NATION'S PRESS, almost wholly controlled by Republicans, resounded last week with thumping editorials praising President Eisenhower's high courage in vetoing the farm bill. But the plain truth added up to something less than political heroism; the progressive Madison (Wis.) **Capital Times** commented:

"President Eisenhower's veto of the farm bill providing for 90% support prices indicates that the Republicans are confident that they can lose the farm vote and still get elected next November."

In the scramble of both parties for political advantage from the explosive farm issue, the farmers themselves ended up with pockets no fuller than before the Congressional battle began.

POLITICS ALL OVER: Midwest Republicans were saddened at the vote; one Congressional spokesman for the farm

(Continued on Page 6)

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Vol. 8, No. 28 401 APRIL 30, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

We say goodbye to 17 Murray St.

SOME TIME BACK a friend browsing in a bookstall found and brought to us a beautiful edition of **Pilgrim's Progress,** printed in 1880 at 17 Murray Street, New York.

So, as time flies, the GUARDIAN's spell at 17 Murray Street has been a short one. But in the eight years since the GUARDIAN began publication in 1948, the address "17 Murray Street, New York 7" has became a reliable fixed star in the view of thousands of people across our nation and the world, as well as being our printshop and our home.

Here the victorious fight for the lives of the Trenton Six began, in our first fortnight of publication. Here in the summer of 1951 began the historic mobilization for justice for the Rosenbergs, a campaign which all humanity joined and which the world can never forget.

The men and women who have written us and visited here at 17 Murray Street comprise a roster of the really great people of our era, to our way of thinking. And for us, these eventful years have brought a deep emotional attachment to this venerable printshop and its people, which words cannot ever fully convey.

NOW WE MUST LEAVE 17 MURRAY STREET. The building is to be sold and the type melted down in one of the nation's most meaningful printshops. So this is the last issue of GUARDIAN you will receive from 17 Murray Street. We know you share with us the mingled feelings of regret at leaving, and gratitude for the fruitful, friendly years we have enjoyed here.

Our new address will be 197 East Fourth Street, Manhattan, in the heart of New York's old "melting-pot" where the newsstands still display the full gamut of languages and creeds joined together here for generations.

OUR MOVE is tremendously costly. The details have been set forth in a letter to all subscribers, asking for a quick round of assistance. You who do not receive the GUARDIAN by mail are hereby asked for immediate help, too. The necessity for moving has come upon us with little advance notice, and with it the necessity to erase a long-standing accumulation of arrears which have made it possible many a week to print the paper when there was no money to do so. Also we have had to incur the full expense of repairing and fitting out the new quarters we will occupy and the costs of moving two floors of ancient but honorable furniture and equipment, files and fixtures, are still to be met.

SO THIS IS A REMINDER TO ALL that to move with a clean slate, and keep the paper coming to you without piling up new debts, we need the help of every friend now. If a renewal is due, a skipped Buck of the Month pledge or just the contents of your penny bank, this too will help mightily even if you can't do more right now.

THE GUARDIAN

P.S. A penny-saving tip: why not dig around in your desk drawer and use up that "17 Murray Street" postage-paid reply envelope you'll surely find there? We want to hear from you this once more at 17 Murray Street, if only just for old times' sake.

THE MAIL BAG

Both feet in air

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The "mea culpa" proceedings in the Soviet Union could also be applied to our own political scene.

Alan Max of the **Daily Worker** wants to know where Stalin's associates were while all this was going on. The answer is rather simple: they were just where Alan Max was while Browder dissolved the CP in the South and peddled opportunistic yarns. It took superhuman efforts to establish a progressive foothold in the South, to put IPP on the ballot and to bring clarity to the people. All this was wiped out.

The point is that if it is premature to establish a third party now, how much more premature was it to establish the IPP some years ago?

Wishful thinking, as exemplified by so-called "changes in the political air," or by periodic predictions of economic crises, or by blowing up the unwarranted "independent" political action of labor (while Meany is in the saddle) can only lead into a blind alley.

A Marxist-Leninist approach to politics is based on facts and figures not on Pollyana reasoning. Is it any wonder that progressives today are firmly entrenched with both feet in the air?

J. G.

Congress

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

They discourse upon the world,
Seeing it upside down;
Twisting all things out of place,
Putting all things in reverse,
What is right is made a curse,
The solon is a clown.

George L. Rees

Except golfers

HELENA, MONT.

I see by the papers President Eisenhower was golfing in the rain with Sam Snead. I thought most people in the U.S. knew enough to come in out of the rain.

A. E. Cotton

Steve thanks you

PITTSBURGH, PA.

I take this opportunity to thank the staff of the GUARDIAN and its readers for their support in my struggle against the now-outlawed Pennsylvania Sedition Act, and for reversing my 20-year prison sentence.

Your paper has been forthright on this issue in these trying times. You have set an example of how to convince people, irrespective of their opinions and no matter what their disagreements, to unite on one big issue—the defense of civil liberties for all Americans.

I consider this not only a victory for myself, of course, for despite the threats that we face in the light of the Smith and McCarran Acts and other repressive legislation, the Sedition Acts in 42 states have been thrown in the ashcan. I believe the fight around the Sedition Act also showed that it's possible to win victories against these other vicious pieces of legislation.

Steve Nelson

CORRECTION

In the review of Corliss Lamont's book **Freedom Is As Freedom Does** (Horizon Press, 220 W. 42d St., N.Y.C. 36) the price was incorrectly given as $3.50. The correct price is $3.95.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SYRACUSE—AP—Oct. 19 "will mark the beginning of a downward trend in the power of Soviet Russia," according to a Boston business analyst.

Frank Anderson of Anderson laboratories told General Electric engineers last night that starting on that date there may be a small relaxation of control by Moscow or a major revolt beyond the Iron Curtain.

Anderson said he based his calculation on Dow Jones Stock Market averages in relation to the position of the moon.

Poughkeepsie **New Yorker**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Joseph Kahn, Poughkeepsie, N.Y. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

What Price Nixon?

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Some additional facts may be of interest on Nixon and the oil lobby. In 1952, while he was running for vice-president, questions arose regarding Nixon's campaign expenditures and the nature of the contributions thereto. The auditing firm of Price, Waterhouse and Co. was engaged to examine these matters and duly certified Nixon's complete clean bill in all respects.

The firm of Price, Waterhouse & Co. has acted as public accountant for Standard Oil of N.J. since 1934, for Gulf Oil since 1932, for Standard Oil of Calif. since 1935, for Royal Dutch Petroleum Co. and the Shell Transport & Trading Co. since 1935, for Richfield Oil since 1931 and for Tide Water Assoc. Oil Co. since 1933.

Last year an international consortium of oil companies got Iranian oil into production again. This deal was midwifed by Herbert Hoover, Jr., who, for his masterly obstetrics, was appointed to the job of Asst. Secy. of State. Forty per cent of the consortium was assigned to five American companies: Standard of N.J., Standard of Calif., Socony-Vacuum, Gulf and Texas—with the provision that from this a five per cent interest be made available at cost to other American companies. At the suggestion of the U.S. State Dept., Price, Waterhouse & Co. was named to pass on the qualifications of applicants for the five per cent allotment.

One of the applicants for the five per cent allotment was the International Cooperative Petroleum Assoc., whose U.S. affiliate is a farmers' cooperative. Price, Waterhouse & Co. rejected the application of I.C.P.A. after consulting the five original U.S. companies. Of these five, Price, Waterhouse acts as accountant for three.

Parenthetically, Hoover Jr. recently released 18 tanks to that paragon of free-enterprise western democracy: Saudi Arabia.

Do these facts throw light on Vice-President Nixon's tenderness toward the oil lobby?

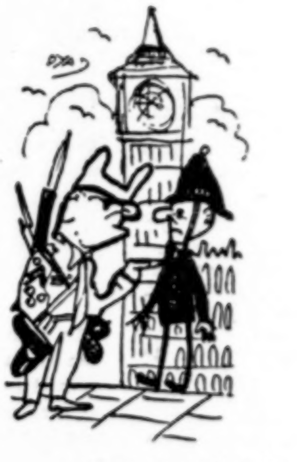
Name Withheld

Excellent idea

BALTIMORE, MD.

As one of your regular subscribers, I am very much interested in your paper and would like to do something to help increase the circulation in Baltimore. This is what I propose: I see that you offer trial subs for a six-month period for $1 each. If you could send me a bundle of five extra papers each week for the six month period, I believe I can distribute them in various localities in and around the city as sample copies. Being a taxicab operator, this would be very simple and might result in a few more subs in this area. I found the paper the first time on a park bench myself. I am enclosing $5 for the weekly bundle.

Darrell B. Williams



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Say,—you're not letting these Russians carry arms in Lunnon?"

Question

QUEENS, N.Y.

In your March 26 issue you had an article on the Elmer Kimbell trial in Mississippi. I would like to ask his defense lawyer one brief question: Where is the land of the free and the brave?

Rima Kittner

Margaret Shipman Fund

EAST PALATKA, FLA.

A year ago this month, the progressive movement lost one of its most devoted supporters. Active to the last day of her life, Margaret Shipman died in her 81st year. A frail little woman, she was fearless on the picket line—braving the taunts and insults of ignorant mobsters and tireless in the dull routine of office work. Living frugally, she gave from her modest income generously and often anonymously to the struggle for better human relations.

We who had the privilege of working in Washington, D.C., with this courageous and unselfish woman in the group which published Scott Nearing's news commentary, **World Events,** wishing to observe the anniversary of her death, have gotten together a Margaret Shipman Memorial Fund as an expression of our gratitude for her inspiring example. We send you herewith $126.50, confident that our departed comrade would heartily approve of the fund being used to support the most valuable paper this country has ever had.

We hope that others who knew or worked with Margaret Shipman will add whatever they wish to this fund to honor her memory.

Frederick A. Blossom
in behalf of the group

Staying in business

SEBASTOPOL, CALIF.

Though our club lost members when we lost the ballot, it is still the conviction of us few that even a skeleton crew must be maintained. We entered into the local school board bond campaign and designed a float for a community festival. We hope we will be familiar to the community when a third party forms again.

We need and rely on the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for its expression of the principles of progressives. ($20 enclosed.)

Lois Murray, Secy.
Sebastopol I.P. Club

"DO YOU THINK I'LL MAKE A SOLDIER . . . ?"

Inside the Montgomery story

By Eva Grimes

(First of a series)

IN THE MILD, sweet night there is pleasant murmurous confusion. It is compounded of these things: new leaves stirring in a small delicious wind; shift, glide, thump and click of thousands of feet, inching along stone stèps and gravelly clay road; liquid, birdsong voices that call through waves and spirals of laughter:

"You get you a ride, Miss Johnson?"

"Well, how you like the meeting tonight?"

"We sure travellin some now, ain't we?"

"Reckon we'll walk on home, can't get tired now!"

"Look like we gettin a heap of folks on our side. . ."

High and cold and proud and white, a bald dome of marble glistens down upon the scene through the barely screening trees. The eye travels from its powerful curves and comes to rest against a rough brick wall. Set into its harsh red is a slab of concrete, and bitten deep in the concrete is the crude italic lettering of this legend:

"'The people which sat in darkness saw great light; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up.' Matt. iv, xvi. First AME Church, Founded 1871."

HEART OF DIXIE: There is enough light in the roadway to see the bright yellow and black license plates on the swarm of cars, parked or barely shuddering with motion in a long line that has its beginning somewhere out on the paved street. There is the black outline of a small heart on each plate and over the heart these words: "ALABAMA—Heart of Dixie". This is the heart of Dixie; the place described on all postcards as the "Cradle of the Confederacy".

This is Montgomery, Alabama, in the month of March, 1956—Montgomery before, during and two weeks after the Boycott Trial, which will unfold in years to come as one of the most beautiful and courageous pages of American history. And these stories will be an attempt to reflect some basic facets of the reality of the human beings who are even now in the process of molding that history.

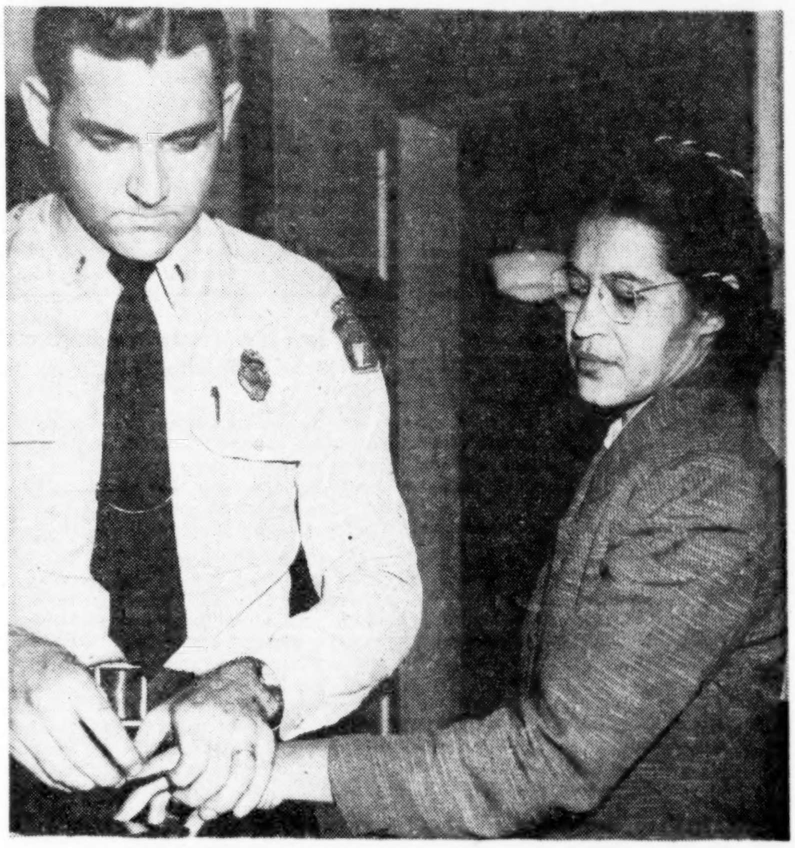
This will be part of the record of a Northern Negro who plunged as deeply into the life of this key Negro American community as was possible to do in something less than a month. The wire services, press, TV and magazines of America have presented, and will continue to present, important aspects of the Montgomery story. They have shown the outline of a heart. This series will try to capture the sound and color of that heart's most internal beat.

FAMILIAR FACES: How was it in Montgomery the night before the trial began? That night there were two great mass meetings held simultaneously in churches on the east and west sides of town—both areas heavily populated with Negroes.

There is scarcely room to move up the stairs or through the corridor of the east side church. In the corridor it seems perfectly natural to squeeze through the crowd, being pulled and pushed alternately by hands that belong to faces already made familiar in newsreel and newspaper. Only after a seat has been found on the platform is it recalled that the pushing and pulling was done by smiling young leaders of the protest movement who were waiting to be called to meet their time on the program.

To sit on this platform and have the privilege of studying the faces of leaders and audience alike! This realization of place and time comes only after the seat has been occupied for a few moments. In the midst of an impassioned prayer delivered by a bespectacled, energetic young minister, the words he is crying out suddenly crash against the consciousness. He is addressing his God; he is addessing the world; he is calling to his fellow Americans; he is **demanding** of history:

"I'm just askin you **one** question tonight, Lord. Just **one** question, Lord, no more. O-ah! I usually ask you, Lord, about the ship. O-ah! Yes, Father, I usually want to know about the course of the ship, and-a, O-ah!, bout the crew of the ship, and-a, O-ah! **all** a-bout the ship's motor and the ship's fuel and in gen-eral I'm interested in the gen-eral condition of the ship, Lord. But, forgive me, Father, if tonight I ain't-a interested in but one thing, Lord. I **just** want to know! O-O-ah, I said I **just** want to know! I just want to know one thing, **tonight,** Lord! And-a, O-ah! what I want to know is: LORD! Do you CARE! Do you CARE bout ME tonight, Lord! Can't ask about the ship tonight, Lord. O-O-o-o-ah! I said, Lord! Do you CARE!"



THE WOMAN WHO SPARKED THE PROTEST

Mrs. Rosa Parks, who refused to move back in the bus

ORGAN OF HUMANITY: Such a mighty tide of sound accompanied his prayer that seats on the platform and, it seemed, the very walls of the church, were in motion. The straining faces of the people became determined and dedicated as they shouted with the preacher in an organ swell of human articulation: Do YOU CARE?" And almost immediately when the preacher had sounded his A-men, the entire multitude stood and began to gravely and earnestly sing the old familiar words of the spiritual "We Are Climbing Jacob's Ladder".

When we reached the verse which begins "Do you think I'll make a soldier," it was almost unendurable to have the aged, bent man on the right turn and smile deeply as he reverently asked the question in a cracked, weary, but resonant voice.

On the left stood a lanky, immaculately dressed young man who was perhaps 20 years old. In the last verse of the song, the question is answered: "Yes, I think you'll make a soldier. Yes, I think you'll make a soldier. . ." He sang with such purpose and emphasis on each word as he wiped his forehead with a spotless white handkerchief! His eyes were fixed far out over the heads of the singing congregation, and each time that the final phrase was repeated he straightened his height a little more, until when the final affirmative "YES, I think you'll make a soldier" rang forth, he seemed to be as tall as the high roof of the building.

A MAN REACHES OUT: When the song was finished the people sat down and the acknowledged leader of the Montgomery protest movement, the elected president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., began to speak through a roar of heartfelt love and identification. Young Rev. M. L. King Jr., whose trial was to begin the next day (March 19), reached warmly and gently out to his people and told them how brave and beautiful they are in terms of their long struggle for freedom and dignity.

As he spoke in calm, low tones of the magnificent culture they had produced as a weapon for progress in the course of that struggle, the hall was as attentively quiet as it had one moment before roared with sound.

THE GLEAMING EYES: Have you ever seen, or do you remember, the faces of Negro leaders of the anti-slavery, abolitionist, Reconstruction period? These faces long ago were burned into the minds of many Negroes seeking freedom as their daily, long-range goal. They were faces of such gravity, devotion, sober joy, and conscious responsibility! When would these faces shine again?

Now, on the platform of a Montgomery, Alabama, church, there they were at long last. The beautiful, humble, wise dignity of black men assembled in full cognizance of their role in the moment and the morrow! Here they were again, at last, and in our time . . . listening to, living with, the words of their young Rev. King, who spoke through and to them and the people in the audience:

"I see your eyes, gleaming with your long determination to the cause of humanity's progress. I am inspired by the sound of your voices as they sing the songs written by our ancestors in the long, dark night of our history. And I know we will not fail to carry on in the tradition that belongs to all of us. For we have a responsibility to fulfill in the days ahead—to our past, to each other, and to the cause of American freedom for all our children."

IT IS ALL-INCLUSIVE: Whatever else may happen in the long American battle to secure the rights of man, there cannot possibly be many moments to equal these hours before the Montgomery Bus Boycott Trial. From the meeting on the east side to the meeting of thousands more on the west side, and then to be part of the long snaking line of cars leaving the last meeting!

The handshakes, warm salutations—even to a stranger—but of one Negro to another in this momentous time, will never be erased from the memory. And everywhere, everywhere along the crowded impressions of the evening, is the sharp line etched by the all-inclusiveness of this movement toward the dignity of all humanity in our time.

The people of Montgomery, having themselves taken such a giant step for all of us, look on each visitor who will take the time to really be among them, with delight and confidence. That visitor may help to gauge the measure of their struggle for the world outside the "heart of Dixie". They will show you their new homes, and tell of the struggle it took to acquire—first the land, then the workmen, then the materials, and finally the finished products. They will talk of their plans for securing maximum registration for qualified voters among Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes.

THE CITIZENS' CLUB: They will talk in ordinary voices of these heroic matters after great mass meetings and before a trial with world-wide implications for the future. And they will say, in ordinary tones, lumined only by the ordinary pride of any townsman showing off his town: "Do you want to drop by the Citizens' Club to have a nightcap?"

East side, west side, all around the town, and the visitor is tired, thinking of the morrow. "Yes," you say, because it is expected of you. But then you step through high, dusty grass, through clots of young people laughing before a fast-swinging door. You go into a room where people, many people, are sitting and laughing together at tables. You turn right to where there are sounds of music and dancing, and then you stop, stock still, and stare. For even here, in a nightclub, is part of what is making tomorrow possible. Here, over the entrance to the bar and dance floor, is a winking lavendar neon sign which states: "EVERY MEMBER A REGISTERED VOTER".

You want to know: can this mean that only citizens can be members of this club? And the answer given begins to be the rule for all such naive questions . . , questions asked from a well of unfamiliarity with the true nature of the struggle that has produced the Montgomery Bus Protest Movement . . . and answered with the gentle patience of those who have focussed all their lives that it might be:

"Why, sho. That's what it means. Why, sho."

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE WAS AT VICTORIA STATION

How London's people greeted B & K

LONDON

DEAR GUARDIAN ANGELS: Just a line to say wish you were here and that, when B. and K. dropped into town to say hello, the GUARDIAN was there—wedged into a dense multitude outside Victoria station between a Royal Signal Corps lance-corporal and a woman with sharp, powerful elbows. We—speaking for all you absent friends—were just able to see a big hand waving our way from the car when the cavalcade passed by. Couldn't make out over the heads of the turbaned Indian and the three tall Africans in front of us whether the hand was B.'s or K.'s, but we waved back, wished our visitors a nice stay in Britain and felt mighty good because they'd come.

The impressive things were both the size and the diversity of the crowd that turned out in the middle of a working afternoon. They were packed solid behind the lines of bobbies as far as we could see standing on tiptoe.

Conversations and complexions in our immediate area indicated welcomers from all over Europe, Asia and Africa. A row of Chinese were perched on a windowsill nearby. Not all had come in a welcoming spirit. An old man was moving up and down the cleared street holding up a six-penny picture book and calling: "Read all about B. and K." A sallow-faced emigré from somewhere kept saying in an accent that might have been Ukrainian: "Don't buy, don't buy."

STOUT PARTY: A woman of the type known in British humor magazines as "stout party" said: "Oh, it's all lies, is it?" The emigré just repeated: "Don't buy!" A young man in work clothes said: "Why not?" The emigré gave him a cold stare and said: "Have you ever been in prison?" The young man said: "Well, I'll take a look" and bought one of the books. The "stout party" reached determinedly into her battered handbag for a sixpence but thought better of it and looked at the book over the young man's shoulder. The emigré shut up.

The crowd were a bit stolid and hesitant about what feelings they should express. For one thing it was the first time London ever welcomed not a glamorous king or president symbolizing a nation, but something new under the sun—a two-man symbol of "collective leadership." You felt the people had come to see what sort of chaps their government's guests were, wanting to like them but not sure yet. You felt that in spite of all they'd read and were still reading in the papers about the impossibility of being friends with the Russkys, they didn't see why not, and they didn't approve of inviting guests into the house and then talking about them as if they weren't nice to know.

It wouldn't have been London without the man moving up and down through the crowd across the street with a Bible text on a banner. The banner said: "He that justifieth the wicked is an abomination to the Lord." The waiting throng read it impassively. It was part of the familiar scenery like the movie marquee further down and the big Bovril poster on a blitzed wall.

G AND R; B AND K: The almost tense hush broke a little when first Anthony Eden rode by to the station just before train time, then two high police brass—splendidly accoutred, in braided hats—strode by eliciting wolf-whistles from the younger element. Then some students raised a big banner: "Welcome Grace and Rainier." On this day when G. and R. and B. and K. were running neck and neck on every front page, it was a gag everybody liked and kept the whole crowd abuzz after the roar of laughter died down. The joke was not so much on B. and K. as on the newspaper hysteria about all four.

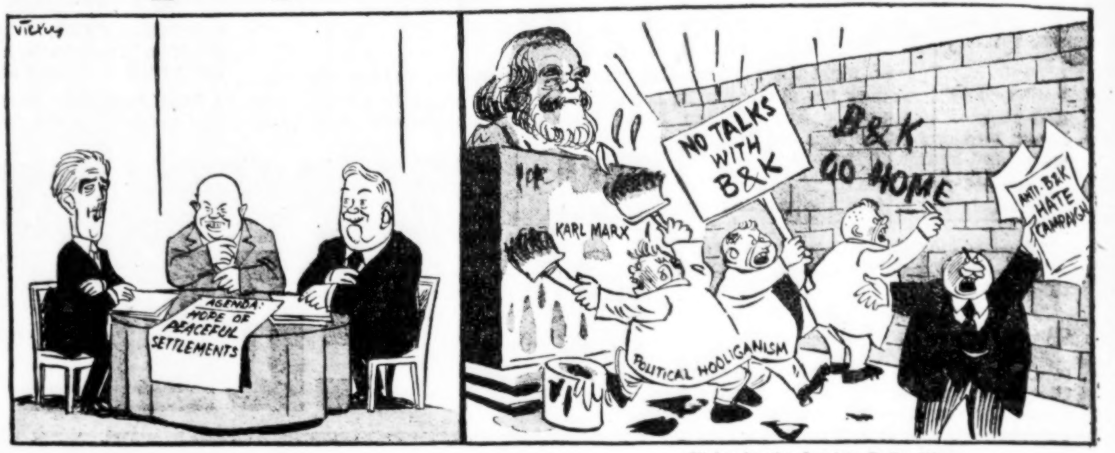
Somehow the students had done just what was needed to put warmth and joviality into the ripple of sound as those nearest the station saw the cavalcade moving out. A young woman opposite the station exit took off her red nylon scarf and waved it furiously over her head. Further along a very old woman, who had been clutching a soiled Union Jack on a stick, waved that with equal vigor as if to say to the guests: "Now remember where you are." The man with the text banner had disappeared into Woolworth's just before the critical moment and another Bible banner was suddenly hoisted not far away. It said: "God is Love."

PROXY VODKA: There were a few scattered boos, hardly heard through the restrained but friendly wave of welcome that swept along the human sea with the cavalcade. The people dispersed in the orderly way of London crowds and the streets resumed their normal appearance. The best afternoon-paper headlines, paired in equal type across page one, were: "THEY'VE COME! THEY'RE WED!"

It was a nice occasion, and tens of thousands of Londoners went home or back to work feeling something had happened which made their city less likely to be shattered again by men pushing buttons up in the sky. While the GUARDIAN is going to press, we'll be having a vodka at Claridge's Hotel with B. and K., at Ambassador Malik's reception for them, and finding out how they like it over here. We'll drink a toast to them for you all.

Yours for less curtains and more people who'll "take a look."

Cedric Belfrage



Vicky in the London Daily Mirror

"To jaw-jaw is always better than to war-war"

—Sir Winston Churchill, June 26, 1954

THE WEEK'S THIRD MARRIAGE

Autherine Lucy wed to Texas pastor

AUTHERINE LUCY of Birmingham, student in library science at the University of Alabama until expelled on March 5, became Mrs. Hugh Lawrence Foster of Tyler, Tex., on Sunday, April 22. She is 26. Her husband is a 27-year-old Butler College social science student and pastor of Tyler's First Baptist Church.

The Baltimore **Afro-American** (3/31) described Foster as "an attractive 5-ft., 11-inch senior." After leaving the armed forces, he spent a year at Southwest Baptist Theological Seminary, Ft. Worth, and then entered Butler. He and Miss Lucy met while both were students at Birmingham's Negro Methodist Miles College.

Miss Lucy was admitted to Alabama U. on court order after more than two years of trying to break the racial barrier. Following a day of rioting, she was suspended by the trustee board "for her own good as well as that of other students." When ordered by the court to readmit Miss Lucy, the trustees expelled her allegedly for saying the university had conspired with the mob to keep her out.

WILL TRY AGAIN: Invited to the wedding were hundreds, both Negro and white, who had rallied to the quiet, determined student's side in her effort to study at the tax-supported Alabama institution of her choice.

United Press quoted the bride as saying she would continue trying to enter the University of Alabama "under Federal court order," for which no date has been set. She told the N. Y. **Amsterdam News** (4/21) by phone from Dallas a few days before the wedding that she would consider a job on that newspaper if friends in New York found a church for her husband to pastor there. In the meantime she is keeping secret the address of their home in Tyler.

ALSO WEDS: Other newsworthy young American women who got married last week included Miss Grace Kelly of Philadelphia and Miss Margaret Truman of Independence, Mo. Miss Kelly, a movie player, married Prince Rainier III of Monaco. Miss Truman's husband is N. Y. **Times'** asst. foreign news editor Clifton Daniel.

Carnegie Hall was jumpin'

OUR APRIL 17 CARNEGIE HALL "Spring Festival," in case you haven't heard, was a grand and glorious evening. The rafters at Carnegie are seven tiers high and the folks were jammed up to the top (even though there were some open spaces down among the top-priced seats). To hear the old place ring to "Ain't Gonna Study War No More" with teen-agers shrilling the alto to Pete Seeger's banjo melody, was something for the Good Book.

Paul Draper danced his famous feet off, with marvelous accompaniment and an over-bounteous supply of encores. Maxine Sullivan's lovely voice brought memories to many and new enjoyment to many more. Cliff Jackson on piano, Herman Autrey on trumpet and Manzie Johnson on drums tore the place apart many times over; and Earl Robinson's all-sized children's chorus gave proof of many musicales to come in after years.

At the end, with the genial m.c. Lee Hays (The Weavers) adding his basso profundo, the whole gang joined in on "When the Saints Come Marching In" for the grandest finale possible.

Lobby, stairway and sidewalk comment was lyrical and everybody agreed we ought to do it again next year. One mislaid parcel was turned in to us, which we are holding intact for the owner despite all office curiosity.

COMMISSION PLAN

Federal arts bill wins wide support at Senate hearing

A BILL to set up a Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts was roundly applauded and weakly opposed Apr. 14 at a hearing held in New York City. Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.), author of the bill, presided with Sen. James Murray (D-Mont.), another sponsor of the bill, attending. The bill is sponsored also by Sen. Irving Ives (R-N.Y.) and Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.)

The bill would set up a commission of 24 members from the fields of music, drama and dance; literature, architecture; painting, sculpture and graphic art; photography and motion pictures; radio and television and general interest in the arts to make recommendations for federal support for projects in such fields.

SECY. OF ART?: Appearing for the bill, actress Lillian Gish suggested a cabinet officer for the arts. "We spend a scandalous amount on arms and nothing on enduring culture," she said. Clarence Derwent, former president of Actors Equity, said that "the artists of the world speak a common language, better than Esperanto," and declared that the bill would help achieve world peace.

Also testifying for the bill were playwright Howard Lindsay ("Life with Father"); actor Robert Preston; opera singer John Brownlee, pres. American Guild of Musical Artists; S. L. M. Barlow, Amer. Composers Alliance; Mme. Olga Koussevitsky, widow of the noted conductor; and many others.

In opposition were H. L. Kammerer and Donald De Lue, sculptors, and Margaret French Cresson, of the National Academy of Design.

Similar bills to Sen. Lehman's have been introduced in the House by Reps. Wainwright (R.-N.Y.) and Thompson (D.-N.Y.). The House bills are H.R. 7973 and 8291; the Senate bill S. 3419. Supporters at the hearing urged public support through letters to Congressmen.

Holy rock 'n' roll!

A GIRL with a scarlet Bible — it matched her hat and skirt—flew into London yesterday and announced: "I have come to help England find God."

The girl was fifteen-year-old Renee Martz, an American evangelist, who started preaching at the age of six. Renee, here for three months, has a special message for teenagers:

"They are just looking for thrills. Back home in Chicago we call it getting kicks . . . I want to show them how to get their kick out of Christ."

—London **Daily Mirror**, 3/29

THE RUSSIAN REAPPRAISAL

New reports detail a grim Stalin era

MOSCOW REPORTS last week still sketched the new view of Stalin in guarded generalities with horrors to be read between the lines. Party Secy. Krushchev's report at the Feb. 25 closed-door session of the 20th Congress was still a secret. But from Communist capitals outside the U.S.S.R. came some details of that speech which, if accurate, confirmed the grisliest reports.

One leader reportedly briefed in advance on the revelations was Yugoslav President Tito. Therefore when the Yugoslav CP organ **Borba** on March 20 ran highlights of that voluminous report it was perhaps the first and most authoritative statement to reach the general public. These were the main charges, as summarized by the **Christian Science Monitor** (4/16):

- In the purge trials of 1934-38 Stalin drafted the "confessions," instructed police officials how to break the prisoner in each case "through the crudest kind of pressure . . . by physical means."
- Stalin similarly masterminded the purge of Red Army officers between 1937-41, "decimating" the officer corps from the company level all the way up, undermining discipline, leaving the army weakened when war broke.
- Stalin is said to have "created" the Leningrad case, according to **Borba**, framing First Deputy Premier Voznesensky and A. A. Kusnetsov (both now officially "rehabilitated.") Before his death he devised the "doctors' plot" charging a group of Jewish doctors with conspiring in a series of assassinations.

IGNORED WARNINGS: **Borba** said the Khrushchev reports charged that Stalin had disregarded warnings by Winston Churchill and others that Hitler planned to invade the Soviet Union, and so was caught unawares.

The **Borba** report made no reference to any documentation of these charges by Khrushchev nor any discussion of political problems such as why Stalin should be charged with mistrust of Churchill, an inveterate foe of the Soviets and one suspected by every leader of pre-war Russia with seeking to turn Hitler eastward.

Borba said the report, though in the form of a message from the party presidium, was an emotional, highly personal explosion by Khrushchev. The post-war Stalin was allegedly described as a maniac. **Borba** quotes from the report:

"He [Stalin] was so sickly suspicious and obsessed that he often asked his closest associates such questions as: 'Why are your eyes so shifty today? Why have you turned your eyes the other way? Why do you not look me straight in the face'?"

ANTI-SEMITISM CHARGED: Another Khrushchev speech to a smaller group after the Congress was reported in the London **Times** which said that it was devoted to alleged anti-Semitism. The **Times** report, quoting CP members in Eastern Europe, said that after the "doctors' plot" was launched in January, 1953, "Stalin's rage grew until just before his stroke in March, he told a meeting of the Soviet leaders that he had decided to gather all the (Jewish) community together and transport them to a northern region."

The story said that Anastas Mikoyan, Vyacheslav Molotov and Marshal Klimenti Voroshilov, present at Stalin's outburst, objected, called the proposal criminal and said this sort of thing had stirred world opinion against Hitler.

Whether or not the **Times** report is true, the anti-Semitism of the Stalin era was grimly reported on April 4 in the **Folks-Shtimme** (People's Voice), a CP paper published in Yiddish in Warsaw. The story (published in full in the May issue of **Jewish Life**), tells how Jewish culture flourished in the early days of the Soviet revolution with thriving research into Jewish language, history, literature, publication of Jewish poets, dramatists, critics. Then, said **Folks-Shtimme,** in the Thirties came the "social plague which is today known as infamous 'Beria-ism'." The article listed the first victims:

S. Dimanshtein, Maria Esther Frumkin, Rakhmiel Weinstein, Yankel Levin, Merezhin, Moshe Litvikov, Mikhail Levitan, Hershl Brill, Izi Kharick, Moshe Kulbak, Max Erik, Yasha Bronstein, C. D. Duniets.

These, said the story, "and other honest, talented people were cut down. All of them were devoted to the cause of Communism and the full development of the Jewish masses."

THE BIG QUESTION: In the years 1939-1941 Jewish culture in the Soviet was reborn, said **Folks-Shtimme.** Community and cultural life flourished and Jewish refugees from Polish terror added to the Soviet upsurge. The Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee took the lead rescuing embattled European Jews and aiding in the war effort. Yiddish schools and theaters sprang up. Then the Polish paper asks:

"How then did it happen that the spokesmen of the Jewish community, who in the most terrible, fateful hours, succeeded in cementing the unity of Jewish resistance—how could it happen that these representatives, among whom were the best sons and daughters of the Soviet Jewish masses—the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee—suddenly, and without a why or wherefore, were liquidated and its leaders condemned to death?"

Folks-Shtimme's answer: "The Beria gang."

Among the victims of the second anti-Semitic wave were: David Bergelson, Der Nister, Peretz Markish, Leib Kvitko, Davir Hoffstein, Itzik Feffer, Benjamin Zuskin, Itzhok Nusinov, Elihu Spivak, S. Persov. All were actors, writers, teachers or community leaders.

The **Folks-Shtimme** admitted that for many years Jewish Soviet leaders had been bombarded with questions from "enemies of the Soviet Union and the Communist movement" concerning the fate of these people. The magazine said:

"Yes certainly, we were silent, despite the fact that we saw and painfully felt the tragic results of the Beria gang. We were silent because we believed that only the party of Lenin could—and finally would—untangle the tragic knot. We were convinced that the party of Lenin would finally find the whole truth and boldly and determinedly reveal it to all the people. Our faith and our conviction has been fully justified."

A BEAM OF LIGHT: The editors of **Jewish Life** commented:

"We condemn without qualification or extenuation this crass violation of the rights of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union and the frame-up and execution of Jewish writers and public figures. . . There is a great deal more that must be told. Why were the crimes committed, who were responsible? The situation calls for a documented detailed history of these crimes against the Jewish cultural and political figures. . . . Above all, it is our deep conviction that the guilty persons be named and, if they have not already been so dealt with, that they be brought to justice.

"In this heart-rending picture there is a beam of light. The frank acknowledgement by the Soviet leaders at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party of the destructive effects of the 'cult of personality' and its profoundly anti-socialist character gives promise that the days of the destroyers of justice and the dignity of man in the Soviet Union are done."

A CZECH DISTINCTION: Another reference to anti-Semitism came from Prague where Premier Viliam Siroky said the prosecutor had been wrong in stressing the fact that most of the defendants in the 1952 trial of Rudolf Slansky were Jewish. He also said that "Titoism" had been mistakenly involved in the charges against Slansky. Slansky confessed to a "Zionist" plot against the Czechoslovak government and was hanged. Siroky said there was a difference between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism.

Slansky and former Czech Foreign Minister Vladimir Clementis, who was executed with him, were still adjudged guilty of conspiring with foreign agents against the state, said Siroky. However he did not explain why former Deputy Foreign Minister Arthur London, convicted with Slansky and Clementis, was recently released from prison, and two others were expected to be freed shortly.

Antonin Novotny, Czech CP first secy, sparked a reappraisal of the late President Klement Gottwald, now embalmed in a mausoleum on a hillside overlooking Prague. But he blamed not Gottwald so much as the CP's "collective guilt" in creating "an atmosphere of untouchability around Comrade Gottwald" and propagating the notion that "Gottwald thinks for us."

BULGARIAN SHIFT: In Sofia, Bulgaria, Vulko Chervenkov stepped down from the premiership. He had been responsible for the conviction and execution of former Deputy Premier Traicho Kostov, now cleared of all guilt. In three minutes' time the Bulgarian parliament reshuffled the cabinet. It heard a brief statement from Chervenkov resigning his post "owing to incorrect methods of work that I have countenanced and that inflicted a certain harm to state activity." The parliament then unanimously named Chervenkov as a Deputy Premier, chose Anton Yugov as Premier.

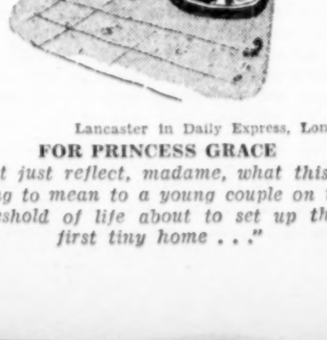
Present at Chervenkov's gentle fall was a Yugoslav parliamentary delegation headed by Moshe Pijade, president of the Yugoslav parliament. Chervenkov had been bitterly anti-Tito and his removal was widely reported to be one of Tito's prices for a reconcilation with the people's democracies.

In Belgrade the atmosphere seemed heady with triumph. But Duzan Pjic, writing from Trieste to the Paris **Tribune des Nations,** (4/6) asked:

"Can the liquidation of what is called 'Stalinism' be stopped at the Yugoslav borders. That question . . . cannot but give pause to Tito and the Yugoslav Communists."

There were signs that the turn from Stalin was having greater effects than the downgrading of some reputations. Poland not only announced a shake-up of its public prosecutors but moved toward some parliamentary reforms, providing for longer and more frequent sessions and giving members the right to quiz government officials.

In Moscow the magazine **Soviet State and Law,** published by the A.Y. Vishinsky Law Institute of the Academy of Sciences, assailed the policies of its late namesake in basing convictions largely on confessions of the accused.



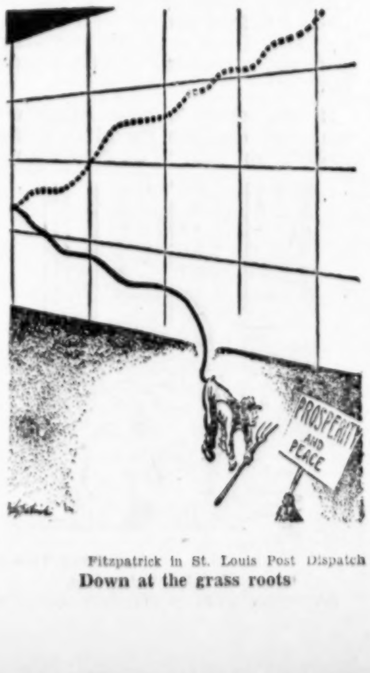
Lancaster in Daily Express, London

FOR PRINCESS GRACE

"But just reflect, madame, what this is going to mean to a young couple on the threshold of life about to set up their first tiny home . . ."

Only a great outcry will be effective

The 66th nuclear explosion by the U. S. is scheduled for this spring in the Marshall Islands. The Japanese have protested and scientists have warned of the effects of the explosion on present and future generations. Last week Adlai Stevenson raised his voice to ask for an end to the bomb tests. The Soviet government protested that the proposed new test was a violation of the UN Trusteeship agreement (the Russian note got "lost" in Washington for several hours). You can add your voice. Write the President asking him to cancel the test. Ask your friends to write; there is still time. (For more news on Asian reaction to the tests, see Spectator, p. 12.)



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch

Down at the grass roots

DR. SOKAL'S EXPERIMENT TAKES HOLD

Poland: Clinics for healthy children

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the GUARDIAN

WARSAW

"THIS IS A CLINIC for healthy children", Dr. Klemens Sokal, founder of Warsaw's Polyclinic for school children, said as he led me into his tiny office. "I must insist on that description. For here we are exclusively concerned with school children, that is children attending school. A sick child is referred to one of the district medical centers or to a hospital, but he or she is lost to the school. Here we are interested in children who are well enough to be at school but who may need some sort of treatment."

He frowned: "Even treatment is too narrow a term, because often it is not treatment in the strict sense of the term—who need some kind of help, shall we say?"

He smiled. Dr. Sokal, an agile, wiry man of medium height, belied his 70 years. His movements were those of a man half his age, and the kind humor in his eyes was timeless.

THE BASIC IDEA: The Clinic, which has a unique history, was founded by Dr. Sokal in 1950. The idea behind it was not simple. "The ordinary medical care which we give school children," said Dr. Sokal, a school physician for 33 years, "is utterly inadequate to cope with the problems of modern living of which our children are part and parcel. I have always been dissatisfied with the kind of service which I gave my own little patients over the years. A school doctor's duties were more or less confined to routine examinations. If he found a child suffering from an infectious disease, whether epidemic, like measles or scarlet fever, or chronic, such as tuberculosis—which incidentally still constitutes a grave problem here in Poland—he referred the child to a hospital. With this one stroke of the pen, the child ceased to be a school child."

"But," he went on, "it occurred to me many years ago that it was the so-called healthy child that needed attention and care. The demands upon the modern child are so vast that they can not necessarily be met by all children. These little workers need more than an occasional routine check-up. They are, all of them, still in the stage of physical and intellectual development, and their development is not always even."

THE WAR AND AFTER: School hygiene and medical care in Poland takes in 4½ million children between the ages of 4-18, from the time they enter kindergarten to the time they matriculate. Dr. Sokal's clinic is based on the principle of assuring them normal development. In Poland this is particularly essential. The war and occupation, the poor state of health in pre-war days, and the difficulties of the early post-war years, have left a legacy of deficiency diseases and, in the case of children, development deficiencies.

TWO STUDENTS AT P.S. 11 IN WARSAW
P. S. 11 is the I. L. Peretz School, named for the great Jewish writer, (1851-1915).

Ninety per cent of all Polish children, Dr. Sokal told me, suffer from bad teeth, for example, although the situation is beginning to improve with dental care in all primary schools. However, there are many other development deficiencies less easy to detect.

"Before the war," Dr. Sokal said, "we were in no position to deal with such deficiencies. We did not even have the facilities for X-raying these children. Now, if a school physician suspects such a lack of development, he refers the child to us. We X-ray the child and show him and his parents the X-ray, explaining why he needs certain treatment and exercises. The exercises, which must of course be repeated at home, are given twice weekly in our own gym." We went to the gym, which is only large enough for ten children.

IT'S DONE WITH LOVE: From the gym, we went to a miniature swimming pool—large enough for two children at a time under supervision. This pool is designed for post-polio cases or for children suffering from post-fractural difficulties. Another room which fascinated me was entirely furnished with mirrors for self-observation during exercises involving facial muscles

The optical department has at present four apparatuses for exercises to correct squinting. The drawings used in these machines were done by Dr. Sokal himself—charming little animals and landscape pictures which the child is anxious to place into focus. Like everything else, these pictures expressed love for the child, pointing the way to new methods of helping children to overcome their difficulties without undue hardship.

There are 15 departments in this clinic, headed by specialists from orthopedics to gynecology, from internal medicine to psychiatry.

THERE'S A REASON: "Often," Dr. Sokal said, "a child seems quite normal, if I may use that term, but the teacher complains that he won't learn, the parents complain of no homework, and the child himself, feeling inferior and rejected because he cannot participate in study or games, begins to become what is known as a problem child. Nothing helps until we have diagnosed the cause. It may be physical or psychological, but there is always a reason for it. Healthy children are not lazy; they want to participate."

Some 50,000 children have passed through Dr. Sokal's clinic during the last six years. The emphasis is on prophylaxis: in a period of six months only 500 prescriptions were handed out. Many children must remain under observation for long periods; control is assured through constant contact with the school physician who originally referred the child, as well as through a group of social workers attached to the clinic.

"I think we are on the right road," Dr. Sokal said, "even though our physical surroundings are still primitive." They are, indeed, for Sokal literally built his clinic with his own hands. At first he had to beg for every penny, but gradually, as he persuaded well-known specialists to collaborate, and he could point to his first successes, the Ministry of Health began to grant him funds for equipment.

LOOK TO THE FUTURE: "And now, last December," he said, "the Minister himself was here to visit my clinic, and we have been promised our own building." Joy was written on his face. An even greater satisfaction, however, is that under the new Five Year Plan, 21 clinics, modelled on his own, will be established in every part of Poland. Moreover, new guides for the future training of school physicians, worked out by Dr. Sokal, have been adopted by the medical academies here. The school physician will become a specialist in the field of a child's physical and mental development; he will be able to refer any child, showing any deficiency or disturbance, to a central clinic equipped with all the latest knowledge of modern medicine. Physicians and health ministries abroad are showing interest in this fascinating experiment.

It seems fitting that this country, which has suffered so much, should have concentrated not only on the rebuilding of its cities and its economy, but should have produced a man whose most vital interest is the rehabilitation of an entire new generation.

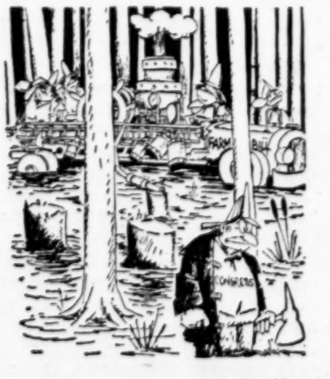
The farm veto

(Continued from Page 1)

belt predicted that it would cost his party at least 15 House and Senate seats come election time. Democrats weren't unhappy at this prospect, but they seemed far more concerned with exploiting the political consequences of the veto than with any effective program to rescue small farmers rapidly going broke.

Top Democrats in advance had tarred themselves with their own brand of politics when they threatened that in case of a veto there would be no farm legislation at all this year. Senate Agriculture Committee chairman Allen J. Ellender (D-La.) said on April 5: "If Ike vetoes the bill and asks us to pass only a soil bank bill, he will end up with a goose egg."

He was echoed by House Agriculture Committee chairman Harold D. Cooley (D-N.C.) who said: "If the President vetoes it, that will be the end of it." Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D-Tex.) predicted that a veto would kill any chance of a soil bank this year and said: "One thing is sure, Congress is not going to roll over and play dead to the crack of a whip."



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"Boys, I think we're lost."

HOW TO BUY A VOTE: But even hardened politicians gambling for votes knew that such tough talk wouldn't pay off any farmers' mortgages. In his veto message Ike had tried to rescue something from the legislative fiasco by pegging price supports on so-called basic crops at 82½% of parity, thus violating his own inflexible insistence on flexible props. He made a bid for the crucial Midwest vote, which can make or break a Presidential election, by setting up a separate relatively high support for corn with no restrictions on production.

He also demanded swift enactment of his soil bank plan under which farmers would be paid by the government to take land out of production. For this he proposed a new gimmick whereby farmers complying with soil bank reduction of crops would be paid half the amount due them in advance, with government checks arriving before the November election. In essence, his proposals amounted to an offer to buy the farm vote with cash money.

NEW FIGHT SHAPES UP: Democrats, smarting under their poor showing in a move to override the veto in the House (they got less than a simple majority of the votes) made a surprise move on April 19 when the House Appropriations Committee voted for a $1,200,000,000 fund for a soil bank plan under an old New Deal act dating back to 1936. This caught the Republicans off guard and a new battle was shaping up over this issue last week.

What was most apparent was the complete absence of any kind of progressive leadership in Congress on the farm issue. Only the most partisan Republicans could see any merit in the original Eisenhower proposals for farm legislation, but Democrats came up with nothing more than what Sen. Ellender himself called a few gadgets, which were aimed less at saving the farmer than with saving an election.

While the smoke of battle was still swirling on Capitol Hill, Sen. Ellender charged angrily that President Eisenhower "did not know what was in the bill" he vetoed because he was "too busily engaged in playing golf at Augusta." In Wisconsin, Leroy Gore, the ex-Republican who led the recall movement against Sen. McCarthy and who is now running for Congress as a Democrat, said: "The voters have a clear duty to repudiate an Administration which is frustrated by too much food in a world where a billion human beings will go to bed hungry tonight."

BENSON'S PHILOSOPHY: The **Capital Times** called the Eisenhower-Benson argument that high support prices produce unmanageable surpluses "one of the biggest frauds put over on the American people" and said:

"The blunt truth is that Secy. Benson represents the philosophy of the big industrialized farm interests, who are out to make American agriculture a more 'efficient operation.' This is going to be done by forcing the small 'inefficient' farmer off the farm and into the factory. If there are some economic pains that go with this, so be it.

"Some of Benson's advisers have frankly and publicly espoused this philosophy, seemingly unaware that they are creating a social and economic upheaval that could bring economic chaos. By his veto, the President is playing their game, though he is probably no more aware of its implications than he has been of some of the other things done in his Administration."

EVERYONE'S UNHAPPY: Few farm organizations were happy at the veto even though the patchwork farm bill contained considerably less than farmers need. A spokesman for the Natl. Grange said: "We are disappointed in the veto action. The good sections of the bill far outweighed the bad." The Natl. Farmers Union had urged Congress to override the veto, while the newly-formed Natl. Farmers Organization, which has grown to 140,000 members in the past few months, called the vetoed bill "better than no bill at all" and added:

"The farmer will feel that he has been neglected again. It is a great blow to agriculture, as well as to city people who depend on farm income for their livelihood."

NFU economists estimated that the vetoed bill would have given farmers $3,000,000,000 more than they will get from what Eisenhower now offers them under administrative action.

Meanwhile the farm unrest in the Midwest (GUARDIAN, April 9) was burgeoning ahead and all through Iowa and Missouri new ties between farmers' groups and organized labor were being formed. By last week the movement had even reached Washington where the AFL-CIO Economic Policy Committee was setting up a subcommittee to deal with farmer-labor relations and policies.

The nicest people in town advertise their wares and services in the Guardian. Before buying be sure to check Guardian ads.

THEIR STOMACHS TELL THEM WHAT TO DO

Spain: The revolt of hunger

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

THE NIGHTMARE that is Franco Spain has been forced back into the headlines by the wave of strikes in Navarre, the Basque country and Barcelona, following the recent student demonstrations in Madrid. Western newspapers, striving to keep the whitewash on this "free world" ally, cannot do less than report a "ferment" in Spain when tens of thousands of workers walk out simultaneously in such widely-separated areas.

Since all-pervasive terror prevents any organizing at the grass roots, the world wonders how such demonstrations are possible. The simple answer was given me last week by a friend just back from studying a small Spanish community in which he has lived for a year.

"The people are simply ravenous with hunger," he told me, "and if there is no one telling them what they must do and organizing them to do it, why, their stomachs tell them. No one knows just how and when the big blowoff can come, but a blood-bath surpassing anything even Spain has known seems inevitable."

THEY SPEAK LITTLE: Speaking of the community which he has come to know intimately from top to bottom—reasonably typical, although city conditions are partly better, partly worse—my friend said:

"Most of the people do not acquire even bare literacy in the one-class school run by a teacher who is paid $25 a month—but they speak little of that. Most never have any medical care—the doctors treat them worse than dogs even if they have the time and bus-fare to go to them; the "official" midwife provided by the "syndicate" exacts an illegal fee and, since they do not have it, many mothers give birth untended; but the people speak little of that. For having three babies in three years, a mother gets a state bonus of $125. One woman, working all the time in between and without benefit of midwife, had her third baby under the time-limit: there was no bonus, for the baby was born dead. Her other babies cannot long survive starvation and disease. But these are not the things of which the people speak."

THEY SPEAK MUCH: Recently my friend talked with a working-class woman who was washing clothes by the river. Spreading a piece of unwashed laundry on the ground for him to sit on, she said:

"Tell me, do the people eat in your country? Yes, we have heard that they do in England, in France, in America. Here in Spain it is different—we do not eat."

In Spain today, eating is for the poor and middle classes almost the sole topic of conversation. A typical worker's family in the community has 40c a day; the daily family diet is a kilo of bread and perhaps a few stolen potatoes, sometimes an onion, very rarely some chickpeas. Middle-class families have rice, and a little meat with it on one day a week. Working people go out at night to search for potatoes in fields from which the crop has already been gathered. If they are seen by the owner or Civil Guard, they are shot and their bodies left lying where they fall.

THERE IS HATRED: The obsessive attitudes are fear in the wealthy class, cynicism in the state officials and the Falange, hatred in the mass of the people. The Falangist gangsters whom the Western press likes to credit with "radical idealism" react with amused contempt to everything the regime says. Most Spaniards blaze and crackle with hatred every time they speak—hatred not only for the regime but for the church which they regard as totally incriminated with it.

The poor people never go to church except to be married or buried and are deeply insulted at the very suggestion. My friend described an old peasant woman going past a figure of the Virgin outside her house turning and shaking her fist at it with a shower of curses. "Something as normal and unnoticed today," my friend said, "as people crossing themselves in some other countries."

FAKE AMNESTY: The prisons are not full: the detested Civil Guards don't want the bother and expense of feeding prisoners, and they simply take people to headquarters where they beat them and let them go, or burn the soles of their feet and let them crawl home. A common punishment is to banish people from an area within 200 miles of their home town, where they are probably unable to find any work.

There are many concentration camps but relatives can rarely discover whether inmates are alive or dead. Everyone knows that the recent "amnesty" for republican emigres wanting to return was a fake. Large numbers of returnees were sent straight to the camps where thousands were poisoned or shot. Thousands of others on the "amnesty" list were cases of **libertad negra** (black liberty)—men and women who in fact had been executed without trial long before, and who were in this way officially "accounted for" for the first time.

RIGHT SIDE NEXT TIME: The wealthy class has reason to be afraid, for members of it who have been particularly vicious are constantly being murdered. They live practically barricaded in their homes which are well stocked with guns, and never go out unarmed. Recently one of them was formally condemned to death by the whole community. The man chosen to do the job met him crossing a field, held him down and slowly sliced him to pieces with a knife.

Such brutalization is an inevitable result of the incredible hunger and squalor, but whatever methods they may use the people know what they must do to eat again. A man who fought for Franco told my friend:

"Yes, we who were against the Republic know we were wrong and that we must fight again on the right side. We know that the French and the Americans and others did not get food and justice without a struggle and we will not."

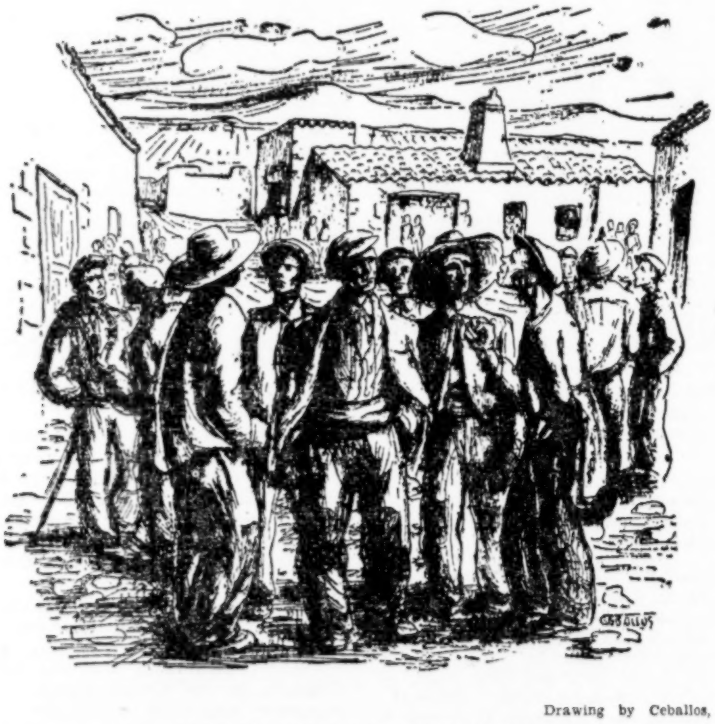
A NEW GENERATION: Attempts by the authorities to scare the people with tales of "bloody atheistic communism" are a joke. The people are interested in anything that will permit them to eat and unconcerned about the label. Memories of the terrible civil war have held back the blowoff, but a new generation that doesn't remember the war has grown up. The authorities — partly for scare-propaganda but partly because they are really afraid — are today constantly patrolling the the coasts searching all vehicles inshore, spreading word that "the reds want to come back."

One wonders how long Americans will be kept in ignorance of the kind of dynamite under the lid which they are helping Franco to sit on. And how they would like to hear a Falangist in a braided uniform calling—as my friend heard last month—for a half-cynical toast:

". . . to the Big Four! Franco, Hitler, Mussolini and Eisenhower!"

DO YOU EAT IN AMERICA?

Two children in a Spanish town



Drawing by Ceballos, Paris

JOBLESS FARM WORKERS IN SPAIN

THE BATTLE OF OHIO

Negro mothers win their 2-year fight to get children in Hillsboro school

FOR NEARLY TWO YEARS— ever since the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed public school jimcrow—24 Hillsboro, Ohio, Negro children had been barred from the Webster-Washington Elementary School. Nearly every school day during that time their mothers had accompanied them to school and seen them turned away.

The U.S. Court of Appeals last fall ordered their admission, overruling Federal District Court Judge Druffel. But Judge Druffel refused to order the school officials to comply.

Three weeks ago the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review the Appeals Court decision, thus upholding it. Judge Druffel finally signed an order for immediate admission of the 24. School board head Lukens then refused to admit the children until they had taken placement exams.

On Thursday morning, April 12, the 24 youngsters, 6 to 12, and their mothers marched into Principal Harold Henry's office and the mothers announced: "We're here to stay until you do something." They passed the morning in quiet conversation among themselves and reading books. The children read or played jacks or slept on coats spread on the floor. Half the women left for lunch at noon, then kept the vigil while the rest went. They so disciplined themselves that there were no disorder or interruption of classes. They all left at 3 when school was out.

BACK TO NORMAL: Their behavior set the pattern for Principal Henry. He made no move to eject them from his office and conferred with the Hillsboro schools superintendent and the city solicitor. He came back and told the mothers their children would be integrated as soon as arrangements could be made. Arrangements included asking for and receiving appropriate tests for the children. If the tests arrived by Friday, April 13, grading and assignment to classes would be made on April 16.

AP reported from Hillsboro on April 17: "Elementary schools returned to normal today for the first time since the segregation question was raised nearly two years ago. Eleven Negro youngsters, whose parents refused to let them enter Webster-Washington Elementary School, yesterday, because they had been graded into the classes they left in 1954, went back this morning. Seven others began their schooling yesterday."

The remaining six were not accounted for.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILL

NAACP backs Celler

A House Judiciary subcommittee last week approved an omnibus civil rights bill, introduced by Rep. Celler (D.-N.Y.), that included important measures not requested by the Administration. Atty. Gen. Brownell had presented the Administration bill a few days previously. Republicans said they would move in the full committee to trim the omnibus measure down to Administration size because, said Rep. Keating (N.Y.), ranking Repulican member of the committee, the omnibus bill has no chance of passage.

The NAACP, on the other nand, approved it as "an important first step toward enactment of this urgently needed legislation." Exec. secy. Roy Wilkins noted that it "contains the principal civil rights measures for which the NAACP has campaigned for many years." He said it "should receive bi-partisan support in the full committee of the House."

Among its provisions are creation of a commission to investigate violations of civil rights; a civil rights division in the Justice Dept. under direction of an asst. atty. general; measures to protect the right to vote; elimination of jimcrow in interstate travel.

Just what 'crimes' did John Hellman commit?

BUTTE, MONT.

On April 5, my husband John Hellman was arrested under the Communist Party membership clause of the Smith Act. Early in the morning three FBI agents entered our home, handcuffed John, and without even allowing him to properly dress they snatched him from his wife and two small children.

A few days before John's arrest the Republican Governor of Montana, J. Hugo Aronson, revoked John's notary commission for allegedly being a Communist. In Montana notary publics are able to register voters and that's just what John was doing. He had registered 728 people in Butte before his commission was revoked. Had he been able to continue this work, there would have been several thousand additional voters in Butte —mostly miners and their families.

Montana is a very large state with relatively few people and a BIG company—The Anaconda Co.—whose hand is felt in all four corners of the state and especially here in Butte where it has its mining operations.

Montanans are faced with many problems: high utility rates; hundreds of disabled miners improperly cared for; farmers going broke; no minimum wage law. The Republican party and the Company have given their answer to these problems: Start a witch-hunt; divert the people's minds from their real problems by screaming "Communist". So they arrested my husband.

What has John done to upset the Company and its spokesmen so much that they feel the necessity to place him behind bars?

- In 1951 John, as Progressive Party State Director, prepared and circulated an initiative petition to give adequate benefits to silicosis victims and make the Company responsible to pay the bill instead of the taxpayers.
- In 1952, as candidate for the Railroad and Public Service Commission, he campaigned for lower utility rates.
- In 1954 he ran for the state legislature on a labor platform.

Where in these deeds is the crime?

His bail was reduced from $20,000 to $5,000 and John is now out of jail.

Many people in Montana resent this invasion of McCarthyism into our state, and have offered to help in any way possible. We have a good chance to defeat this political persecution, but we have an overwhelming problem—that of paying for the legal and other costs of defense. I'm therefore appealing to all friends of civil liberties to help us raise the necessary funds. Communications can be addressed to John Hellman Defense Committee, Box 113, Butte, Mont.

Mrs. Milly Hellman

VERDICT IN BUFFALO

John Noto gets 5 yrs. in quick Smith Act case

By Milly Salwen
Special to the Guardian

BUFFALO, N.Y.

HELEN LEARNS ABOUT LIFE AT AN EARLY AGE

Five-year-old Helen, shown above with her parents, John and Frances Noto, was with them the night 12 men surrounded the car and arrested her father. "Call the police, Mommy!" she cried, "and stop the bad men!"

FOR JOHN NOTO, a tallish, lean-cheeked man in his mid-30s, with a questing look behind his spectacles, the Smith Act has meant a midnight arrest on a street in Buffalo, 12 weeks in jail, then the trial, totalling 13 days from selecting the first juror to a snap verdict, and the sentence—five years.

For unarrested New Yorkers, the Noto case provides a close-up view of the Justice Dept. in a terrible hurry. And it gives a glimpse inside the thinking of men who are thwarted these days by the Constitution and the Supreme Court.

John Noto was arrested under the "membership" provisions of the Smith Act, the carpet-sweeper clause that can pick up thousands of progressives if it is used widely. In the last year Atty. Gen. Brownell had staged several such arrests and trials across the country. These test cases—Claude Lightfood in Chicago, Junius Scales in South Carolina, more recently Albert Blumberg in Philadelphia —were on appeal.

On March 26 the Supreme Court announced it would review the constitutional issues of "membership". This would ordinarily mean a delay in pending cases. But the head-hunters, who have their own peculiar bookkeeping, evidently wanted one man more. The Noto trial opened the next morning.

BAIL SET AT $30,000: Noto, who helped build the union in the steel fabricating plant of Bliss & Laughlin in Buffalo, became CP chairman in Erie County, then CP organizer for western New York. In 1951 he left the area for what another political refugee has called "Bill of Rights Street," to continue his work.

After his arrest, he was quizzed on his whereabouts in the intervening years and refused to answer. And because he used the Fifth Amendment, Judge Harold P. Burke set bail at $30,000.

The Niagara branch of the American Civil Liberties Union protested and enlisted the aid of the Erie County Bar Assn. One of Buffalo's leading lawyers, Charles J. McDonough, agreed to take the case.

When the local judge refused to lower the bail, and the Circuit Court upheld him 2-1, McDonough carried the fight to Washington.

Supreme Court Justice Harlan ordered bail reduced to $10,000 because, he said, Judge Burke had been wrong in denying Noto his right to use the Fifth Amendment.

Then, as the high court agreed to rule on the large issue of the "membership" clause, the trial opened—with Judge Burke presiding.

THE INFORMERS PERFORM: The prosecution teed off, as usual, with their commuting informer, John Lautner. Here as elsewhere he was promptly qualified as an "expert witness", then just as promptly denied that he was expert at anything to do with Marxism-Leninism. But this opened the way for the reading of a flood of quotations from books 20 to 100 years old.

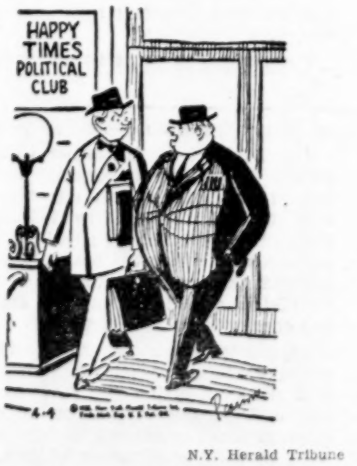
Another government informer, Charles V. Reagan, admitted he worked for the FBI hoping it would help get him citizenship papers (he got them). The most damning quote he could produce was that he once heard Noto say "the capitalist class is its own grave-digger"; on cross-examination he conceded that Noto's views were aired in debate with an American Legion spokesman and before Buffalo's Common Council.

ONLY 3½ HOURS: The defense was brief: McDonough called the deputy director of the county public library, who brought in several hundred index cards showing Marxist books, European and American, currently on file. CP pamphlets were introduced, on Negro rights, rent control, health insurance, taxes. With that the defense rested.

As the jury retired many recalled hopefully that in New Haven and Cleveland Smith Act juries had deliberated six and nine days, and brought back some acquittals. But the thaw hadn't reached Buffalo: it took only 3½ hours for the quick-frozen verdict of guilty.

As the judge handed down the maximum five-year sentence, he added the final twist: he raised Noto's bail again. Only the week before another federal judge, in a Smith Act case in Massachusetts, had set bail at $2,000. But Judge Burke, with one eye on the Supreme Court reprimand, arrived at his own midway figure: $20,000.

Funds, which are urgently needed to continue John Noto's appeal, may be sent to the Noto Provisional Defense Committee, Box 64, Station C, Buffalo, N.Y.



N.Y. Herald Tribune

"How can I campaign on my legislative record? My opponent is campaigning on it."

Emanuel Blum hearing

April 30 was fixed last week as the date for the appearance of Emanuel Blum in Federal District Court in Indianapolis. Blum is Indiana's first Smith Act victim; he is charged with violating the membership provision of the act. Bail was continued at $5,000, after having been reduced from $20,000.

OPEN INVITATION

Minnesota PP sets May 27 for big parley

THE MINNESOTA Progressive Party announced last week that its annual spring statewide meeting will be held May 27 at FDR Hall, 724 Fourth Av. S., Minneapolis. A call will soon be sent to all PP members in the state.

The program, in its present stage, calls for reports and resolutions dealing with such subjects as:

- Whom should progressives support in the 1956 elections?
- How can we bring the issues to the people?
- Can a progressive candidate, endorsed by the labor movement, beat Rep. Walter Judd in the 5th District of Minnesota?
- Did the Kefauver victory in the Democratic Party in Minnesota mean that the Farmer-Labor portion of the "Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party" is ready to reassert progressive leadership in the state?
- Can we settle for anything less than full parity?

JUDD IS A TARGET: There will be a report on efforts to elect progressive legislators to the Minnesota State Legislature; the civil liberties activities by progressives in the state; the progressive movement on the campuses and how to involve more young people in the progressive movement.

Ralph Taylor, PP GUARDIAN director, will talk on building GUARDIAN circulation. There will be a report of the PP Labor Committee and on political attitudes in the labor movement. Susie Stageburg will speak on "Women in the City and on the Farm . . . Work for Peace and Progress." Congressional district groups will also report.

Out of the session, it is hoped, will emerge plans for running a strong candidate against Judd, and possibly candidates in other Congressional districts. Last year delegates from every CD in the state attended the spring meeting and more than 75 persons came from farm districts. A bigger attendance is expected this year.

The Minnesota PP has extended a cordial invitation to progressives in any part of the nation to take part. Housing will be provided for all out-of-town observers. Arrangements may be made with M.H. Baker, 1645 Hennepin Av., Minneapolis 5, Minn.

Yes, ma'am

"WE IN THE Passport Office . . . want to give the public the best service possible—fast, accurate, efficient and secure. . . . I do believe the Passport Office, in its enthusiasm for travel . . . can make a significant contribution in establishing good will among peoples."

—Miss Frances G. Knight, director of the Passport Office, addressing the Natl. Council on Naturalization & Citizenship, Mar. 16.

Europe's Socialists

(Continued from Page 1)

another meaning to the policy of the united front."

"WAR COMMUNISM"; In Italy Socialist Party leader Pietro Nenni summed up his views in an article titled "Lights and Shadows" in the party's paper, **Mundo Operaio.** He dismissed the notion that the curious turn of the Russian revolution was the work of Stalin, alone. He called the Stalinist era "war communism" and wondered whether the 20th Congress signalled its end.

He thought it would have been more urgent to discuss whatever concepts and institutions in the Soviet Union needed revamping, since they were based on experiences of an imperialist war 40 years ago and up-dated to fit the civil war in Russia. The institutions superimposed during the Stalin era, he said, had "consequences infinitely more serious than those of the myth or the cult of Stalin." Nenni wrote:

"There was much talk at the 20th Congress in Moscow of internal democracy. What present-day interpretation must be given to that old formula? In Lenin's time the internal democracy of the party was translated into freedom of discussion, into the frequently dramatic clash of opinions. In what way will the new Soviet democracy express itself in the future, not only within the party but equally within the state? These are some of the problems which remain after the Congress. The conditions for their solution have been created. The solution cannot be long delayed."

PIETRO NENNI
From necessity . . . to freedom

NECESSITY TO FREEDOM: Nenni saw similar problems now put squarely before all groups on all socialist roads anywhere in the world. He said:

"We must probe deeply, with a sense of responsibility, the problems of socialist democracy. Their proper solution will bring us nearer to what Engels called the 'ascent of humanity from the kingdom of necessity to the kingdom of freedom'."

Socialist initiatives were sprouting all over Europe. In England a brisk correspondence, not without barbs, was on among Labourites and Communists, each seeing hope for the other. When **Reynold's News,** viewing the Stalin expose, asked Communists to dissolve themselves into the Labour Party, a letter writer, typical of many, answered:

"Whether under Stalin's leadership or in spite of it, the Russians have built socialism. Under the present Labour Party, we have not. That fact is final for me, at any rate."

A NEW INTERNATIONAL: Socialist G. D. H. Cole dropped his own seed in the ground plowed up by the 20th Congress, announcing an International Society for the Study of Socialism. He said French Socialist Party members, some from Nenni's party in Italy and some Yugoslavs had participated in a conference in Paris. They hope now to find members further east. The founders, said Cole, regard themselves as part of the Socialist left in their countries but decline to lay down any doctrinal conditions for membership, agreeing only that:

"(a) Socialism implies rejection of all national and racial discrimination, opposition to all forms of imperialist and colonialist domination, and a concerted attempt by Socialists to formulate the objectives of Socialism which are common to countries at all stages of economic and social development and inheritors of many different colonial traditions; (b) Socialism is more than a Welfare State and requires structural changes leading to the abolition of class distinctions and the achievement of a classless social order; (c) international socialism involves opposition to all attempts to divide the world into rival power blocs."

And just who will determine the age?

WASHINGTON, March 27 (UP)—A medical authority told Congress today that "fertile young men" should be spared from civil defense duties that would expose them to large amounts of radiation.

Because of the impact radiation has on human reproduction, this work should be assigned to "those who have passed the age of conceiving," he said.

The suggestion was made by Dr. Eugene P. Cronkite, head of experimental pathology at the Brookhaven Laboratory, in a letter to Representative Chet Holifield (Dem-Calif.)

"Future survival is as important as immediate survival in event of an atomic attack," he said.

—San Francisco **Chronicle,** 3/28

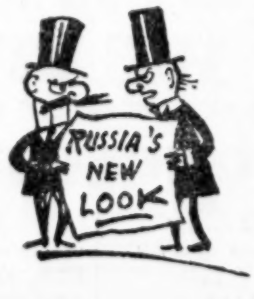
TITO AND MOSCOW: At his home on the island of Brioni, Yugoslav President Tito told French newsmen that he favored a new Socialist International joining Communist and Socialist parties around the world. Earlier French SP leader Daniel Mayer, winding up a visit with Tito, told Yugoslav newsmen:

"I have received the impression, as a result of my conversations here, that the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will be—if what was said there is realized and if it carries on in that direction—one of the major events in the history of economic relations between East and West, as well as for relations between the various working-class movements."

Moscow itself has welcomed Socialist government leaders from Norway and Sweden, Socialist trade unionists from Scotland. One visitor, Socialist President Huysmans of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, said when he returned to Liege that during his tour of the Soviet Union he had pledged himself "to help with all his strength, the re-establishment of working-class unity in Europe."

COMINFORM'S END: Early in April **Pravda** said editorially: "The large masses of the working-class more and more demand a profound change in the mutual relations of Socialist, Communist and other working-class organizations." Last week the Cominform's last statement said it was dissolving and predicted that Communists "will examine the problems of collaboration with parties with tendencies toward socialism, and also with other organizations which aim to consolidate peace and democracy."

In the U. S. the scattered voices for socialism had not yet begun to talk to each other. Letter columns in the N. Y. **Daily Worker** still steamed in critical give-and-take, but there was not yet a real echo of the European cry for socialism with a respect for Marx, Lenin and the Soviet Union but without a Bible, a priesthood or a Zion.



—Drawing by Dyad, London

"You don't think it's a plot to get friendly, do you?"

THE FEELING RUNS HIGH

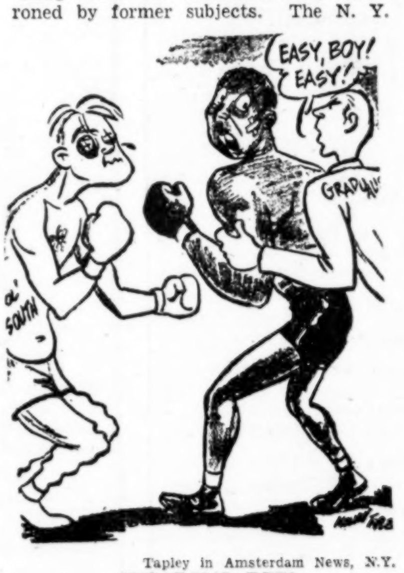
King Cole loses his throne in the Negro community

By Eugene Gordon

FOUR White Citizens Council members who attacked Nat "King" Cole as he crooned "Too Young to Know" to an all-white Birmingham audience April 10, were each sentenced last week to 180 days in jail and fined $100 and costs. Two others, charged with assault with intent to murder, are awaiting trial.

Cole immediately after the assault said to reporters: "I can't understand it. I haven't taken part in any protests. I haven't said anything about civil rights. Nor have I joined any organizations fighting segregation. Why should they attack me?"

Recorders Court Judge Parker complimented the Negro singer for having observed Southern "customs, traditions and laws," thereby winning "new friends in the South." Outside the South, however, "King" Cole was unceremoniously dethroned by former subjects. The N. Y. **Amsterdam News** (4/21) reported that "the butcher, the baker, the candlestick maker, and just about everyone else in Harlem, lined up solidly against Cole, [while] criticism ranged from vows to stop buying his records to threats of a picket line . . . whenever and wherever he next returned to New York."



Tapley in Amsterdam News, N.Y.

IMPARTIAL REF?

THE ROOF FALLS IN: A page-1 photo of a young woman breaking jukebox records over her knee is captioned: "Pretty barmaid Mickey Fowler smashes the records of Nat King Cole in the Shalimar Bar with the full approval of Shalimar owner Red Randolph. Randolph, Teddy Butler, manager of Jock's Place, and Carl Maxwell, manager of Frazier's Restaurant, were among Harlem businessmen who spearheaded boycott of King Cole records in their places following Cole's decision to sing before jimcrow audiences and ignore NAACP."

The boycott came after NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins had wired Cole that the NAACP regretted "the unprovoked attack" and invited him "to join us in the crusade against racism in order to create a society in which the Birmingham incident would be impossible." Wilkins received a rejection from Cole with this explanation: "I am crusading in my own way . . . as a gentleman." Cole added: "The Supreme Court is having a hard time integrating schools, so what chance do I have to integrate audiences?"

"FELONY COMPOUNDED": Dr. George Cannon, leading physician and former Urban League board member, wired Cole that "in these times of Autherine Lucy and the Montgomery protest no Negro at all, and especially one as prominent as you, can leave anything to the other guys." Dr. Cannon went on: "First of all, you were dead wrong in having a concert to which no Negroes were allowed admission. The fact that another concert, for Negroes, was later held, is immaterial. That just compounded the felony. It is a matter of pride, dignity and basic moral principle . . . Wake up, Mr. Cole You're not that hungry "

The **Amsterdam News'** "Sidewalk Interviews" brought a unanimous "No" to the query: "Should Negro artists perform before segregated audiences?"

The paper said the strong criticism from the sidewalks was at first tempered "by resentment against the White Citizens Council." But when Cole a few days later "announced that he would continue to sing before jimcrowed audiences, and made many statements which tended to disassociate him from the overall Negro struggle against segregation, the pent-up fury which many held against the Councils was turned on Cole full blast." The singer by that time had wired the NAACP that he was "in accord with" its work and "shall cooperate . . . to the fullest extent." On April 23 he joined.

OLD ENOUGH TO KNOW: Negro press headlines were expressive:

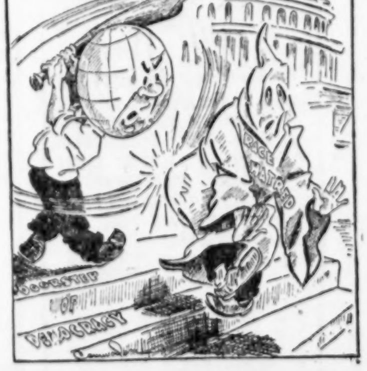
Amsterdam News. "COLE LEAVES US COLD."

Courier: "NAT (KING) COLE GOOFS."

An **Afro** photo showed the singer, sitting at a piano, holding up a scroll displaying the song title "Too Young to Know." The caption said: "But He's Old Enough to Know Better." The **Afro** noted that the present pastor of the Montgomery church once headed by Cole's minister father was one of the leaders in the bus protest movement.

"Nat went up North from the unequal schools and back seats of the buses and segregated waiting rooms to a land of equal opportunity and freedom," said the **Afro.** Then he went back, "not as a King but as a suppliant, kneeling before the throne of Jim Crow . . . where people are refusing to ride buses because they are jimcrowed."

The **Amsterdam News** in a page one editorial, contended that the singer, with his talent to sell, offered to sell on the racists' terms. "He is free to set his terms or not sell at all," the editorial said. Therefore, "the least a Northern Negro can do is either to join with [Southern Negroes] in their fight, or stay away from there and let them conduct the fight alone."


YOU'RE STRETCHIN' THIS HALLOWEEN BUSINESS TOO FAR!
RACE HATRED
DOORSTEP OF DEMOCRACY

Chicago Defender

TRICKED AND TREATED

More than coronets

DENVER, COLO.

This new subscription comes about because I had the responsibility for planning a program in which current events were discussed. I sent out GUARDIANS containing articles on certain items.

I hope you people at the GUARDIAN, and the Editor-in-Exile, have some idea of how much it means to us readers to have the GUARDIAN, with its integrity, give honest accounts of what's going on in the world. It must give all of you a warm glow to be part of the GUARDIAN.

Dorothy Howard

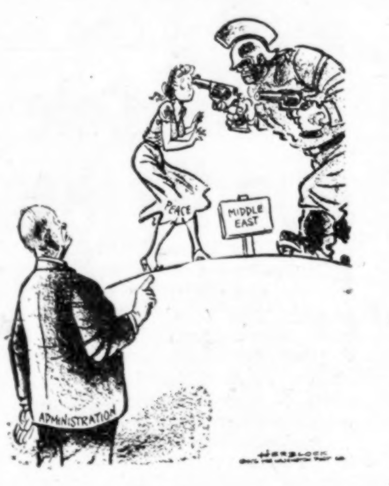
Middle East crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

aims of colonialism" and the interests of oil monopolies. It said these alliances fostered Eastern conflicts and "the deterioration" in Arab-Israeli relations.

NEW NATIONALISM: Despite the cease-fire agreement, peace in the Middle East still remained unsure. The uncertainty was attributed to the Western powers' reluctance to face the basic issues in that region. Columnist Joseph Alsop wrote from Cairo (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 4/18):

"The primary question for Western policy makers is not what to do about the Arabs and Israel or the Arabs and the Soviet Union [but] what to do about the new Arab nationalism [that wants] to sweep the past into a corner and touch a match to it [and] begin the hard task of creating a new kind of Arab nation." Alsop said that to the Arabs, "it does not matter very much whether the past . . . be represented by King Farouk and his pashas" or by French colonial rule in N. Africa or by Gen. Glubb's neo-colonialism in Jordan.



—Herblock in Washington Post

"If he shoots you, let me know at once."

London and Washington, however, continued their policy of strengthening military alliances in the area—even though former U. S. Secy. of State Acheson, no mean cold warrior, admitted that military pacts have had an adverse effect on the West because they "ran counter to the political and emotional environment of the peoples of the area." (N. Y. **Times,** 4/15).

A DULLES CONCESSION: London shifted its "tough" Gen. Sir Geoffrey Bourne from Malaya to the post of Commander-in-chief of its Middle East army.

Washington finally joined the Baghdad Pact in all but name, agreeing to establish a military liaison office and becoming a partner in the pact's two principal committees—the Committee to Fight Subversion and the Economic Committee. By assuring a greater flow of dollars, it hoped to lure Arab countries now outside the pact.

The U. S. still tried to reconcilie its policy of preserving Israel as a nation with its determination to retain "the immense oil resources of the region for the military and economic use of Western Europe" (Robert Allen, N. Y. **Post** 4/13), although foreign control of oil has promoted dissension in the Middle East.

Secy. Dulles last week conceded that UN action in the Middle East "does involve a certain participation with the Soviet Union because the Soviet Union is inescapably a member." But officials in Washington were reported saying that "the U. S. is not contemplating any Big Four approach, as distinguished from the three-nation (Britain, France, U. S.) declaration" regarding the Middle East (**NYT,** 4/18).

WHAT MUST BE DONE: Thus, the basic problem of bringing peace to the Middle East by eliminating military bases and disunity fomented by foreign economic control still remained to be solved. At the Stockholm Peace Council meeting (4/6), Israel Peace Committee Secy. Jacob Majus said:

"The dangerous situation in our region arises from the existence of military pacts behind which loom the powers seeking to exploit the natural resources of the Middle East. They line up the people against each other so as to better be able to dominate them. . . . The way to assure peace in the Middle East is to outlaw all existing military pacts, neutralize the entire area within the framework of an international statute."

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WED., MAY 2. Discussion of new Soviet 5-year plan with LeRoy Wolins, graduate of U. of Chi. Planning Dept. 8 p.m. Rm. 205, 189 W. Madison St. Chi. Coun. of Am.-Sov. Friendship.

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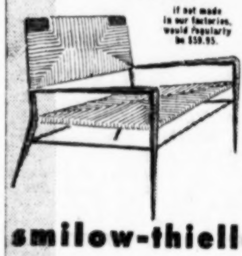

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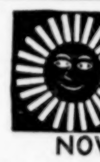

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the SPECTATOR

Will they learn?

LONDON

THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL at its special conference in Stockholm summed up the results of five days' discussion with a declaration welcoming the relaxation of international tension and asserting that the arms race can be ended. It also called for a new effort to unite the many organizations which are fighting for peace.

Back here in London after the enthusiasm of Stockholm, I can say sincerely that the Stockholm declaration does accurately reflect the general feeling. I found MPs coming back to the House of Commons with a genuine conviction that the disarmament talks in London were preparing the way for at least a modest measure of agreement on arms reductions and control. British public opinion is looking for ways to end the cold war and to lift the burden of arms expenditure.

But while these hopeful factors are welcomed, world opinion must be alerted to one very dangerous development that can wreck our hopes of agreement and stir up new hatreds. I refer to the decisions of the American and British governments to explode super Hydrogen bombs in the Pacific this year. I wish the Western statesmen and military leaders who are casually planning to spread radio-activity over countries which have already suffered from the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs and the Bikini tests could have heard the speeches of the Asian delegates at Stockholm.

WILL OUR STATESMEN NEVER LEARN? Don't they realize the effect on the people of Asia of bringing these ghastly weapons from another continent so as to explode them within atomic range of every Asian country? At the World Peace Council in Budapest in 1953, I heard delegates from all the Pacific countries denouncing the statement by President Eisenhower that America's policy was to let Asians fight Asians. They refused to fight each other and instead forged the Bandung pact and the principles of co-existence. Now the assumption by the Western powers that they have the right to explode nuclear weapons in other people's territory is provoking similar resentment.

If I judge the feeling expressed in the Stockholm speeches aright, it will take decades to wipe out the hatred that will be aroused if we go ahead with these projects. And the Asian peoples will unite against the powers responsible as never before.

Prof. Hirano of Japan quoted the London **Times** words—"an ugly business"—when he told the conference of the vast popular movement in his country against the tests. He declared his support for the action of India, whose representative, Krishna Menon told the UN Trusteeship Council that no administrative power has the right to destroy the area or endanger the lives of the inhabitants. "We call your attention," he said, "to the fact that the danger of radio-activity is not limited to the trust territory but pollutes air, soil and sea water over an immeasurably wider area."

Prof. Hirano said that the Japanese peace movement proposed to begin an immediate survey of the damage caused by radio-activity resulting from previous test explosions. It is probable, he said, that a system of co-operation will be established between the Asian nations on this matter.

THE PROTESTS GO BEYOND ASIA. In Australia a nationwide protest is growing stronger every day. Rev. Victor James, Australian delegate, told the conference that the leader of the Labour opposition, Dr. Evatt, had said "nuclear weapon tests will have to stop." Prime Minister Menzies has said that his government is willing to negotiate on the elimination of the tests.

No political leader in Australia could act otherwise, for a Melbourne paper has quoted information (believed to have come from official U. S. sources) that the planned H-bomb explosion would poison 4,000 square miles and bring Australia within the danger area. The British are planning tests in the Monte Bello islands, off Australia's west coast, before their super H-bomb test in the autumn.

The peoples of Asia can never forget that they were the victims of the first atom bombs and that they suffered radio-active poisoning from the first H-bomb tests. They ask why the Western powers do not find testing grounds in their own hemisphere. Russia, they say, at any rate carries out her tests in her own territory. They have also noted that the Soviet Union has said it will stop all tests if the other powers pledge themselves to do the same.

I don't know what the American and British governments hope to learn from the tests. But I can tell them in advance that they will lose far more than they can possibly gain if they go ahead. They will be isolated as never before.

Gordon Schaffer

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